

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 CU-02

SAB-01 /081 W

----- 128192

O R 301530Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4169

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 5007

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJ: CSCE: DISCUSSION OF STATE III TIMING AT JUNE 30

COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING

REF: GENEVA 4953

1. AS EXPECTED, SOVIETS AND WARSAW PACT ALLIES/ PUSHED RELENTLESSLY
AT JUNE 30 MEETING OF CSCE COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR
DECISION ON DATE FOR STATE III. THEY WERE JOINED BY FINNS
AND SWEDES WHO STRESSED NEED OF FOUR WEEKS TO PREPARE ADE-
QUATELY FOR THE HELSINKI MEETING. ALTHOUGH NATO MEMBERS
AND SEVERAL NEUTRALS REMAINED FIRM IN REFUSING TO SET DATE,
SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF DECIDING FAIRLY SOON ON STAGE III DURING
WEEK OF JULY 28 CONTINUED TO BUILD. CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVE
GAVE HIS GOVERNMENT'S FORMAL APPROVAL FOR JULY 28 AND SEVERAL
OTHER NON-COMMUNIST DELEGATIONS HAVE MADE CLEAR PRIVATELY
THAT THEY BELIEVE A DECISION SHOULD BE TAKEN AS SOON AS
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POSSIBLE. NATO MEMBERS IN THIS GROUP APPEAR TO BE DENMARK,

NORWAY AND , INCREASINGLY, ITALY AND FRANCE.

2. OPENING SOVIET TACTIC AT JUNE 30 MEETING WAS TO PUSH FOR A POLLING OF DELEGATIONS IN ORDER TO "CLARIFY" THE POSITIONS OF INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS. SOVIET DELEGATION CHIEF DROPPED IDEA OF CONVENING STATE III ON JULY 22, BUT ARGUES THAT IT WAS UNACCEPTABLE FOR GENEVA DELEGATIONS TO PLAY A "GAME OF SILENCE" WHILE THEIR POLITICAL LEADERS WERE STATING OPENLY THAT THEY FAVORED JULY 28. WHEN THIS GAMBIT FAILED, SOVIET REP PUSHED FOR INTERRUPTION OF THE MORNING SESSION UNTIL THE EVENING. HE URGED THAT REPRESENTATIVES USE THE RECESS TO OBTAIN INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS TO ENABLE A DECISION TO BE TAKEN. AFTER CONSIDERABLE PROCEDURAL WRANGLING, CONSENSUS WAS REACHED TO SCHEDULE NEXT COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING FOR 1200, TUESDAY JULY 1, TO CONTINUE DEBATE ON STAGE III TIMING. SOVIET REP MADE CLEAR THAT HE WOULD USE THAT MEETING TO PUSH AGAIN FOR DECISION ON A DATE.

3. COMMENT: SOVIET STEAMROLLER TACTICS HAVE NOT BEEN WITHOUT SUCCESS. IN THE FACE OF CONTINUING SOVIET PRESSURE, MANY DELEGATIONS ARE FINDING IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO JUSTIFY RELUCTANCE TO TAKE A DECISION ON DATE. THE SOVIET POSITION IS BEING SUPPORTED BY INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE PRESENTATIONS BY FINNISH AND SWEDISH REPS ON THE NEED FOR ADEQUATE TIME FOR PREPARATION OF HELSINKI MEETING.

4. AT NATO CONSULTATIONS BEFORE AND DURING JUNE 30 MEETING, ALLIED REPS CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR PRESENT ALLIANCE POSITION. MOST THOUGHT THAT STAGE III COULD STILL BE HELD ON JULY 28 EVEN IF FORMAL DECISION ON DATE WERE DELAYED FOR A DAY OR TWO. NETHERLANDS REP REPORTED THAT DUTCH AMBASSADOR IN HELSINKI HAD BEEN TOLD BY HIGH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL THAT FINNISH GOVERNMENT HAD DECIDED TO BEGIN PREPARATIONS FOR JULY 28 MEETING EVEN IN ABSENCE OF FORMAL DECISION.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, DIFFERENCES IN EVALUATION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION ARE BEGINNING TO APPEAR. DUTCH AND TURKS
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SEEMS ESPECIALLY FIRM IN REFUSING TO MOVE ON THE QUESTION OF DATE, WHILE DANES AND NORWEGIANS HAVE ALL BUT OPENLY ANNOUNCED THEIR PREFERENCE FOR A QUICK FORMAL DECISION. FRENCH ALSO SEEM TO BE MOVING INCREASINGLY TOWARD SUPPORT OF AN EARLY DECISION ON DATE, EITHER FOR JULY 28 OR A LATER TIME. DURING THE INTERRUPTION OF THE JUNE 30 MEETING, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR REPORTED IN THE NATO CAUCUS THAT HE HAD USED THE BREAK TO TELEPHONE PARIS FOR AUTHORIZATION

TO SUGGEST AN ALTERNATIVE DATE, AUGUST 4 OR LATER IN AUGUST, FOR THE HELSINKI MEETING. HE REVEALED THAT HE HAD BEEN DENIED SUCH AUTHORIZATION "FOR THE TIME BEING". SEVERAL DELEGATIONS EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO EVEN HINTING THAT A LATER DATE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE, ARGUING THAT TO DO SO WOULD DESTROY THE MOMENTUM OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. OUR JUDGEMENT CONTINUES TO BE THAT A CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF JULY 28 WILL BUILD STEADILY DURING THE COURSE OF THE NEXT DAY OR TWO. THE FRENCH IDEA TO COMPROMISE BY SUGGESTING A LATER DATE HAS FOUND LITTLE SUPPORT AMONG NATO DELEGATIONS AND WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIETS WHO SEEM TO FEEL THAT WITH A BIT MORE EFFORT THEIR GOAL OF A JULY SUMMIT CAN BE ACHIEVED. WE HAVE TOLD THE FRENCH AND OTHERS THAT THE WEEK OF AUGUST 4 WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR US BECAUSE OF THE PLANNED VISIT OF THE JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER TO WASHINGTON. WHILE WE DOUBT THAT AN AUGUST DATE WILL BE PROPOSED, THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE AWARE THAT THE FRENCH AND RESUMABLY OTHERS ARE CONSIDERING THE IDEA.

7. DEPARTMENT SHOULD ALSO BE AWARE THAT A FIRM NATO CAUCUS DECISION ON A DATE SEEMS UNLIKELY. TURKS AND POSSIBLY DUTCH HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY TOUGHER POSITIONS THAN THE OTHER ALLIES, AND EVEN IF MAIN CBM AND QRR ISSUES SHOULD BE SETTLED AND THE CAUCUS MAJORITY WERE TO SHIFT IN FAVOR OF SETTING A DATE, THE TURKS AND DUTCH COULD WELL RESIST THIS MOVE.DALE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, NEGOTIATIONS, STAGE III, MEETING REPORTS, COMMITTEE MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 JUN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: RowellE0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA05007
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750226-0497
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975064/aaaaadiz.tel
Line Count: 143
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 GENEVA 4953
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: RowellE0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 MAY 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <29 SEP 2003 by RowellE0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: DISCUSSION OF STATE III TIMING AT JUNE 30 COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING
TAGS: PFOR, XG, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006